14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

It was the census year, and the law provided that the Minister of Police should be responsible for numbering the people. His arrangements were somewhat primitive, but I daresay that they produced more satisfactory results than would the more elaborate machinery of our Registrar-General if put into the hands of such workmen. Kubu simply ordered his policemen to visit every village and write down the names of the inhabitants. In a country where every individual is personally known if not related to the enumerator, not many omissions are likely to have been made. The total census of the natives was 19,196.

The registers of the births and deaths for the previous ten years showed the population to be steadily decreasing, not so much on account of excessive mortality as of a low birth-rate. The death-rate (36 per mille), however, was high when compared with European countries; and it would be strange if it were not so, when it is remembered that the arrival of Europeans has introduced the germs of many diseases from which the natives were formerly free, and to which they are therefore not yet inured. Chiefly de-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the population has been either stationary or decreasing—slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses, and content themselves with calling in one native quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In ancient times the women were required to do no work beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating. The men planted the food, carried in the wood and water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In other respects they have greater liberty than under the heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 0U9 Tonga 0U9

shipping difficulties. These setbacks are probably only temporary, and Tonga can look forward to developing a modest, but useful, trade in both peanuts and tapa after the War.

Apart from them the only likely addition to the export trade is fruit. Before the Great War Tonga had a profitable fruit trade with New Zealand, but in 1941, an exceptionally good year, it amounted to less than £2,000 worth of pineapples and melons. Tonga produces excellent qualities of these fruits; the only problems are transport and markets. New Zealand could well afford to extend a little generosity to Tonga in regard to markets, especially as New Zealand exports about five times as much to Tonga as it imports.

During the present century Tonga has built up considerable overseas investments out of its trade surpluses. Since Tonga has no foreign debts its investments place it in the select coterie of creditor nations, with foreign assets equivalent to four years' normal revenue. This exceptionally liquid position is necessary to a large extent since the country's money income depends so largely upon the vagaries of the copra market. There is, nevertheless, a definite anomaly in this small and economically backward nation lending nearly all its savings to wealthy countries like Australia and New Zealand. It is impossible, in view of the Director of Agriculture's very specific proposals for economic development, to believe that there are no avenues for sound investments in Tonga, especially as some of the developments suggested would lessen the need for large overseas funds by reducing the country's dependence on imports.

Health

The standard of health is rightly considered a major test in judging the efficiency of a native administration. That the Tongans are basically healthy can be seen from their fine muscular physiques, and confirmed by their moderate death rate and their satisfactory rate of natural increase. During the five years 1934-38 their birth rate averaged 3.82 per cent, their death rate 1.41 per cent, and their rate of natural increase 2.41 per cent. These figures compare very favourably with those for Fiji, American Samoa, and for the New Zealand Maori. There are no figures available for expectation of life but the Tongans are decidedly not short-lived. There are plenty of old people, including a few centenarians, while senility is listed as causing about one-eighth of the total deaths. Tuberculosis, which accounts for about a fifth, is the

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

McArthur has recalled in some detail evidence of loss of life during this period.[13]

Such contemporary observations as were made were not always supported by other evidence, but it can be assumed that the ravages of war and disease affected the various islands unevenly and at different times, epidemics probably having fewer widespread effects than in the larger islands of the Pacific; there was a high mortality rate, especially of infants; and, with few in the reproductive age groups, a sex imbalance, and later marriages (induced partly because of the "grim social code of the missionaries"), the population declined considerably.

Distribution of Population by Island Groups (percentages)

	Pre-contact[1]	1840[2]	1891[3]	1921[4]	1939[5]	1956[6]	1966[7]
Tongatapu	43.9	43.2	—	—	—	55.0	61.9
'Eua	2.0	0.8	—	—	—	3.4	4.4
Tongatapu and 'Eua	45.9	44.0	36.6	42.6	46.2	58.4	66.3
Ha'apai	21.9	21.6	28.2	25.2	21.9	17.5	13.7
Vava'u	21.9	21.6	26.5	24.4	24.0	22.0	17.5
Other[8]	10.4	12.4	8.7	7.8	7.9	2.2	2.6
Total population	29,700	18,500	19,968	24,935	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1] Estimated by Maude (1965): 27.
[2] Wilkes, cited by Maude: ibid.
[3] Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.
[4] Wood (1952) Appendix 6.
[5] Census 1956: 41.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Census 1966: 36.
[8] Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

3. *1852–* : "A phase of adjustment and recovery" dating from 1852 when the civil war ended, but probably having little effect on growth until the 1890s. From this date the population grew "slowly but irregularly" from some 20,000 in 1891 to about 24,000 in 1918, with occasional epidemics still taking a large toll of life. The increased growth rate in recent years, due largely to improved health measures and the absence of epidemics, has produced a population at least double the most generous estimates given for the pre-contact period. Thus between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent; between 1931 and 1956, 3.1 percent, and between 1956 and 1966, 3.6 percent. This increase, together with the marked movement of population to Tongatapu referred to below, suggests that Tonga has now entered a phase of dynamic growth. Tupouniua's phase of "adjustment and recovery" can be said to have ended in the 1940s.[14]

[13] McArthur (1956): 202-206; and (1967): 68-75.
[14] —— (1967): 96. An epidemic of measles in 1893 is reported to have killed a twentieth of the population, and an influenza epidemic in 1918 a tenth of the population of some islands.

241 peasant production; the value of subsistence crops produced
433 for local sale is negligible.

Population

161
[165] The population of Tonga at the census of 1966 was 77,429, of whom 98.31% were classified as Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders (Fiefia 1968: 7). The population total reflects an annual rate of increase of 3.24% in the period since the previous census, which was held in 1956, compared with 2.94% during the preceding intercensal period, 1939-56.
[163]
[165] The difference is explained not so much by any great change in the birth rate as by a reduction in the death rate. Table 1 shows population totals over a period of about fifty years, beginning with the census of 1911, the earliest census for which there are published figures available.

Population projections made by Norma McArthur, an Australian expert in Pacific demography, indicate an estimated population of more than 100,000 by 1975 and more than double the population of 1956 by 1980 (Kingdom of Tonga Economic Survey of Tonga 1970: Appendix A.1). These projections, based on the findings of the 1956 and 1966 censuses, assume the maintenance of age-specific fertility rates and continued slowly falling mortality rates, with no significant outmigration. McArthur's projections appear to be slightly on the high side, for her estimate was that the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40]

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as developments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing, handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965, moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in 1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had rised to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons, but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and communications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers. Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966, show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down 63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and "commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with Tongans.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966 the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for subsistence purposes. Pressure on the *'api* system as it now stands is very great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled; larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be understood that this is without exception universal, as there are many women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

[1] But cf. p. 962 below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

TABLE 9

163 162 597

Age Distribution of Biological Mothers and Adopting Mothers*

Age in Years	Percent Biological Mothers	Percent Adopting Mothers
16-20	11	5
21-25	23	7
26-30	26	8
31-35	18	14
36-40	12	16
41-45	5	11
46-50	5	9
51-55	0	11
56-60	0	4
61-65	0	11
66-70	0	3
71-75	0	1
Total	100	100

* Figures based on eighty-one adoptions.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase.

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants.

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000.

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent.

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000.

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people.

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present.

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand.

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births.

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05.

842 definite barriers to the success of family planning in Tonga. One of the foremost is the cultural desirability of
163 having large families. The average fertility rate, based on the study, was estimated at 7.3 births per woman (Wolff
000 and De Sarmo, 1970:6-23). Even if the birth rate were reduced to two per cent per annum, the Kingdom's population in 1996 would be close to 150,000, with over 100,000 on Tongatapu; the population density for Tongatapu would then be over 1,000 people per square mile (386 per square kilometer) or approximately 17.7 persons per bush allotment (based on the present number of 5,652 bush allotments on
161 Tongatapu). The estimated population density for Tongatapu at the time of this study in 1971 was 626 persons per square mile (about 242 per square kilometer) or about 10.4
000 persons per bush allotment. Such a population increase will inevitably change the existing agricultural system through a shortening of fallow periods and a reorientation
241 of cropping practices and plant selection. Incipient
182 changes are already taking place with the supplanting of yams, bananas, and taro as the main subsistence crops by manioc, which has a shorter growth period and will continue to produce high yields when planted repeatedly on the same
000 plot. Finally, there will be further increases in the number of landless Tongans who will have to look for employment outside the agricultural sector.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds. When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode, waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which Tongan church choirs have become renowned. In her message to the royal party after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate, however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000 in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966. It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion,

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with a family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

There is less similarity to national demographic characteristics when we examine the proportion of males in the population; that is, there are considerable differences between the figures for Motulahi and those for the population as a whole (see Table 1). The excess of males over females in the 10—19 year-old group might be accounted for by the fact that, while there is no overt sex discrimination in education opportunity, a boy's parents are more likely to make the effort involved in moving to live on the main island or sending their child to live there. The excess of females in the 20—29 and 30—39 year-old groups might be accounted for by the fact that men in those age-categories may be living away from the main island to earn a living on the land or in some job while the wife and children live where the children can take advantage of educational opportunities. However, I do not have a great deal of confidence in these explanations. The age-sex structure of the national population calls for further demographic investigation, and differences between the age-sex proportions for Motulahi and the nation as a whole could be accounted for by random variation.

Anomalies, Discrepancies, and Ethnographic Validity

Again, had I been interested in these matters at the time the data were collected, I would undoubtedly be in a better position now. For one thing, I would surely have been more careful in collecting data on people's age and checking the accuracy of these data. Then, I was usually content to record what I was told about a person's age at the nearest birthday; I seldom bothered to ask for the exact birth date, and there were few cases where the answer to my question about a person's age seemed so anomalous that I felt it necessary to probe beyond the first response. However, I now feel that the accuracy of my data on age must be regarded with some reservation, and of course this affects the value of other demographic data, particularly material relating to fertility. The assumption that the data on exact age are not accurate is the most likely explanation for the anomalous finding that only two young women in the village said to be under the age of twenty had already

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

162 163 621 *Table 2. Maternal Age at the Birth of the First Child among Women of Motulahi (1970) Aged Fifteen and Over, and Compared with the National Census (1966)*

Age at Birth of First Child	Women of Motulahi							Tonga
	15—19 (N = 64)	20—24 (N = 58)	25—29 (N = 35)	30—39 (N = 66)	40—49 (N = 51)	50+ (N = 50)	Total (N = 324)	Total (N = 20,456)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below 20	3.1	15.5	14.3	15.2	13.7	16.0	12.7	15.1
20—24	NA	22.4	42.9	33.3	17.6	22.0	21.6	33.3
25—29	NA	NA	8.6	19.7	23.5	8.0	9.9	10.2
Over 30	NA	NA	NA	4.5	2.0	6.0	2.2	3.3
Age at first birth not known	—	—	2.9	10.6	33.3	44.0	14.5	—
No children	96.9	62.1	22.9	12.1	9.8	4.0	37.3	35.9
No relevant data	—	—	8.6	4.5	—	—	1.9	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.2	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

Sources: fieldwork survey; Fiefia 1968: 58, 62.

114 given birth and none of those said to be twenty had already given birth, 125 whereas 15.5 % of the women aged 20—24 gave birth for the first time 163 before the age of twenty (see Table 2).

162 621 What is interesting is that the official report on the national census of 1966 presents similarly anomalous data in that 95.37 % of women 162 aged 15—19 had never given birth (Fiefia 1968: 58), whereas 15.1 % 163 of all women aged fifteen and over gave birth for the first time before 659 the age of twenty (see Table 2). The national census, however, does not give a breakdown of maternal age at the birth of the first child classified according to the woman's current age, so it is not clear whether these data are as problematic as the data from Motulahi. It should also be noted that the Census Officer for the 1966 census repeatedly mentions his reservations regarding the accuracy of the census data on age, and emphasizes this in commenting on the findings relating to maternal age at the birth of the first child (Fiefia 1968: 20), so the points is not that the problem is not recognized by those responsible for

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
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Motulahi

the national census. Rather, the point I wish to emphasize is that an ethnographer is generally in far the best position to provide data whose quality and accuracy are such that they may constitute a special contribution: first, by providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing, and second, by facilitating demographic analyses that are either not possible or not feasible in the analysis of the conventionally-derived census.

As to the first contribution—providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing—I shall give an example from Tongan data relating to migration.

Since Tonga is a country of many small islands, slight shifts of population may have important consequences and therefore migration is a matter of considerable interest. In the words of the Census Officer for the 1966 census,

> "It will be proposed throughout this Report that the Tongan population has become mobile, both internally and externally ... The movement of people between the islands especially to Tongatapu, has reached a stage where governmental intervention in the supervision and planning of these migrations is urgently required." (Fiefia 1968: 11.)

Clearly, the Tongan government would like to have information about migration. However, as the following discussion shows, the notion of migration is not culturally neutral and the problem is how data on 'migration' are to be obtained.

In the national census reports, both for 1956 and 1966, there is a comparison between place of birth and place of enumeration. The difficulty with this is that while such a comparison tells us something about population movement, it cannot be taken to be very informative about the rate and direction of migration. This is because in Tonga, particularly in the early years of a marriage until a couple establishes their own household, there is a great deal of movement back and forth between the wife's kin and the husband's kin. A child may be born at the home of one set of grandparents, live for some time at the home of another set (where some siblings may be born), and grow up at a third place where the parents have established their own household. The demographic difficulties resulting from this are partly recognized in the report on the 1966 census:

592 /65 cont./
342
343 household has three. one cook hut, a small "bath" house, and a latrine hut. (186)

186. Of the 100 households in the village of 'Uiha, 12 have no cook hut, 19 have no small bath house and 17 have no latrine hut; in the 45 households of Fungamisi there are six without cook huts, 20 without small bath houses and five without latrine huts.

163 The Tongan family of today has an average of barely four children.
592 (187)

187. The figures worked out by the author for 'Uiha and Fungamisi are 3.8 and 3.7; deceased children were not counted, but included were those who had left to go to school in Tongatapu, etc.

592 In addition, there are adopted children, that is the children of
599 relatives, who are taken in by some families for a rather long period, often until they reach adulthood; (188)

188. For example, children of the husband's sister or brother, the wife's sister or brother.

children of fellow-villagers or other acquaintances are less often
162 adopted. "Adoption" assumes the following proportions: Of 289
599 children under 16 years of age in 'Uiha, 254 live with their natural parents and 35 with their adoptive parents. We find there a total of 23 families with adopted children (14 with one child each, six with two children each, three with three each). In Fugamisi, 11 of the 128 children under 16 years are adopted and live in seven families (four families with one child each, two with two children each, one
599 with three children). These adoptions are very seldom official (that is, for which a registration fee of two pounds was paid by the adoptive parents to the Supreme Court. /cited in English/). Usually, /66/ an adoption takes place if one day the small child of a relative (or fellow-villager) is asked for, and is taken into the household

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 852 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the completed first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 852 177 [805] This festival marking the completion of the first year of life, which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 163 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)
163
161
(113)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. [1144] Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga [842] in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it
178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although
177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling
177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European
178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build,
343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

increased to 3.1 percent between 1931 and 1956, with the population growing from 28,839 to 56,838 (Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972, p. 1). This rate of expansion accelerated further during the intercensal period, 1956 to 1966, to reach 3.6 percent. By the time of the 1966 census, the Tongan Kingdom contained 77,429 individuals. This represents a tripling of the 1918 population figure, in less than 40 years. Since 1966, the population has increased by approximately 20,000, and now stands in excess of 95,000.

Data available from the Tongan Department of Justice, and published after 1966, indicates a decelerating population growth rate (Table 2). While there exists some speculation as to the accuracy of this data, it appears that the annual growth rate has decreased from the intercensal 3.6 percent, to a 1973 level of 2.5 percent (Report of the Department of Justice 1973, p. 9). However, despite the declining growth rate, a proportional decrease in the yearly numerical increase of the population is not evident. Statistical evidence indicates that greater numbers of the population are entering the fertile years, thereby offsetting the decreasing rate of growth by maintaining a nearly constant or increasing number of births. Furthermore, due to the age structuring of the population, which is decidedly young, more individuals will be entering the reproductive years in the near future, than will be leaving it (Table 3).

Projection for the future population of the islands differs greatly, depending upon the sources consulted. Therefore, Table 4 (page 29) projects the population for five different growth rates.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

161 TABLE 2.--Crude Birth and Death Rates.

163 165

Year	Registered Births	Registered Deaths	Natural Increase	Per Thousand		Yearly Growth
				Births	Deaths	
1966	2,870	228	2,672	38	3	3.46
1967	2,652	278	2,374	34	4	3.06
1968	2,648	209	2,439	33	3	3.05
1969	2,844	236	2,608	34	3	3.16
1970	2,652	227	2,425	31	3	2.85
1971	2,505	285	2,220	29	3	2.54
1972			2,486			2.74
1973			2,395			2.58

SOURCES: Population Census Reports, 1956 and 1966.
Report of the Department of Justice, 1966-1971 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer).
Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 4.

162 TABLE 3.--Population by Broad Age Groups.

161

Age Groups	1956 Census		1966 Census	
	Total	%	Total	%
Under 5	10,031	17.7	14,326	18.5
05 - 09	8,090	14.2	11,546	14.9
10 - 14	6,843	12.0	9,873	12.7
15 - 19	6,045	10.6	7,825	10.1
20 - 24	4,968	8.8	6,219	8.0
25 - 29	4,416	7.8	5,441	7.0
30 - 34	3,537	6.2	4,542	5.9
35 - 39	2,896	5.1	4,154	5.4
40 - 44	2,256	4.0	3,321	4.3
45 - 49	1,782	3.1	2,711	3.5
50 - 54	1,606	2.8	2,064	2.7
55 - 59	1,279	2.3	1,484	1.9
Over 60	3,089	5.4	3,923	5.1
Total	56,838	100.0	77,429	100.0

SOURCE: Kingdom of Tonga, Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 4.

162 1966. On the other hand, the reproductive age groups, ages 15 to
161 44, evidenced a decline within each age group, with the exceptions of ages 35 to 39 and 40 to 44. Further examination of these reproductive age groups indicates, however, that while an overall percentage decrease was realized between 1956 and 1966, the absolute
161 numbers within each group increased substantially. This explains
163 why, while the percentage of post-1966 births has decreased, the total number of births has remained nearly static (Table 2). A A

161 While stable populations develop stable age distributions, rapidly increasing populations evidence a greater proportion of younger age groups. The younger groups provide a broad base from which a large reproductive age group may eventually emerge, with the potential of even further increasing the birth rate. Tongan census statistics report a 1966 growth rate of 3.46 percent which represents one of the largest yearly growth rates in Tongan history. Since 1966, yearly percentage growth rates have decreased. However, as the younger age groups reach reproductive ages, Tonga may experience a resurging population expansion.

168 842 In order to forestall this continually increasing birth rate, and to establish a more stable demographic profile, the Tongan government has, since 1955, supported a family planning program.
[647] The medical department of the Tongan Ministry of Health began the present program of family planning in 1958, with aid from the South Pacific Commission. Since its initiation, the program has been extended to all parts of the Kingdom, with varying degrees of success.

A A [See Category 161, p. 28--Analyst.]

842 Tongan traditions are contrary to the concept of reduced
168 family size. Prior to 1950, high infant mortality motivated pro-
[164] duction of large numbers of offspring. In addition, a large family
[165] represented security for elderly parents. However, with the intro-
161 duction of public health facilities, such as water purification,
[165] infant mortality declined, but without a corresponding decline in
[163] the birth rate. Thus, family size has increased slightly. The
[162] average number of persons per household in 1956 was 6.6, while in 1966 this figure was 6.7.

168 Several of the active religions within the Tongan Kingdom
795 are a second major obstacle to effective family planning. These
842 church groups (Mormon, Free Church of Tonga and Catholic) are outspoken in their opposition to family planning and birth control. Estimates of lay agreement to this opposition vary. The Office of Family Planning in Tonga claims that 18 percent of the Catholic population participates in the program. However, interviews conducted in a cross sampling of the Tongan population indicated a much lower percentage of Catholic supporters. Interviews with Mormon and Free Church members indicated consistent rejection of the family planning project. Despite the fact that the majority of the Tongan population is of Methodist affiliation, the influence of smaller church groups should not be underestimated. The Mormon church mission, for example, has experienced a rapid expansion in all areas of the Kingdom. The potential for a religious-based block to governmental birth control programs is not insignificant (Clark 1974).